



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

lead us to expect. From the latter date to 1910 total expenditure has risen to \$18,754,000, a circumstance that must largely be attributed to an extension of the scope of state activity. Chief among the causes of growth is the development of the educational policy of the state. In 1910 the state expended \$6,800,000 upon state institutions and in subsidies to local schools. Another potent cause of increase is provision for dependents and defectives. This service costs the state more than \$2,850,000 annually. Outlays for prisons and other reformatory purposes total \$1,245,000. California has been able to meet these tremendous increases without apparent difficulty, a fact that gives some indication of the growing wealth of her people. Concerning the more fundamental underlying causes of increasing expenditure the author has nothing to say; nor does he attempt to determine the economic expediency of these increases.

It is this omission of inquiry into underlying causes and an avoidance of nearly all interpretation of facts that constitute the principal defects of the study. In many places the reader will turn eagerly from a careful and lucid statement of the provisions of a new tax law to subsequent pages for a statement of how the scheme worked in practice; but in a majority of instances, unless official documents supply a convenient summary, such information is lacking. Another defect in the general plan of the book, in the reviewer's opinion, is the absence of systematic relation of the revenue and expenditure policies of the state. Expenditures are treated as a thing apart, or as having little to do with changes in the revenue policy of the state. Here again the reader will discern the lack of carefully worked-out interpretation. These defects should not, however, be permitted to detract from the really excellent features of the work. For, on the whole, it is a clear, well-arranged statement of the principal facts in the fiscal history of a commonwealth that has made important improvements in the methods of taxing corporations and in the administration of the general property tax. The study may, therefore, be read with profit by all who are interested in state financial systems.

FREDERIC B. GARVER

LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY

Unpopular Government in the United States. By ALBERT M. KALES.

Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1914. 8vo, pp. 263. \$1.50 net.

The first part of Mr. Kales's book is devoted to the rise of the "politocrats." It presents in less than a hundred pages a keen and

incisive analysis of the forces which have tended to weaken popular government. The complexity of government, with its principle of separation of powers and its checks and balances, is discussed. The overburdening of the voter is properly indicated as one of the most important causes of the rise of the political boss. "The elector, by being required to vote too much, has been compelled to surrender to a large extent his right to vote at all and to permit others to cast his ballot as they see fit. Formerly people were disfranchised when they were given no opportunity to vote. Today they are being disfranchised by being required to vote too much" (p. 25). "The burden upon the voter is such that the vote of the most intelligent man is made quite as politically ignorant as that of the least intelligent" (p. 40). The analysis of the present situation is good, and the first part of Mr. Kales's book presents the clearest and most convincing argument now available for the short ballot. He very properly says that the great number of unimportant offices to be filled obscures and makes ineffective popular control over the really important offices, which would if they stood alone be subject effectively to such control.

After a careful analysis of the present situation, the author reviews the efforts which have been made to meet the conditions created by the voter's ignorance. As he says, if the voter has too much to do the remedy has largely been sought through giving him more to do. With the existing number of elective officers, the primary, the initiative and referendum, and the recall, in Mr. Kales's view, merely make matters worse, even though under other circumstances these institutions may be desirable. The author does not give full credit to the reform movements of the past. These movements have, as he says, not been effective, but each new movement has temporarily bettered conditions, largely perhaps because it has kept the problem before the public. In addition, the direct primary and the initiative and referendum have given the people a weapon to use in time of crisis, although this advantage may be dearly bought if such instruments are weapons of the "politocrat" in normal times.

After giving an analysis of previous movements, Mr. Kales outlines his own constructive program. Here the author is weakest. For small cities he proposes a commission government which should (1) concentrate in one body all the powers of government, (2) have a small number of elective officers, and (3) be the only local government in the territory covered. For larger cities he proposes a large council or commission, which would probably be unwieldy. For states also he proposes a

commission system with the concentration of governmental powers in a large legislative body; there is a fanciful scheme for a parliamentary system with a dummy executive. Having adopted the commission plan and the plan of wieldy voting districts, the author seems to regard these as somewhat sacred institutions to be applied in much the same manner to cities and states alike. He overlooks defects which would be sure to result from his schemes, and disregards the fact that for an important officer a voting district may properly be larger than for an officer of less importance. In this discussion the author tends to become dogmatic, although such an attitude is notably absent from the bulk of his work. Upon the subject of judicial organization in large cities the author's proposals are clear and convincing.

In his chapter on the second-chamber problem, Mr. Kales discusses acutely one of the fundamental problems of democratic government—the protection of property in a government controlled primarily by the non-propertied class. His proposals are not satisfactory, and he ignores the protection of property from state action by the United States Supreme Court.

Mr. Kales writes vigorously and convincingly, and with a realization that there is no panacea for all our political ills. His book was meant to be read as a whole, and it deserves to be so read, but the omission of an index is not altogether excusable.

W. F. DODD

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Reconstruction of the New Colonies under Lord Milner. By W. BASIL WORSFOLD. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1913. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. vi+376 and 429. \$7.50 net.

Although these volumes are in the nature of an *ex parte* statement on behalf of British imperialism in South Africa, they have much of the value of an original document. The author brings to his task, along with his bias, a trained mind and one thoroughly conversant with the South African situation. Added to this he has had access to the "very complete collection" of papers in Lord Milner's possession. In a preceding volume he has dealt with Lord Milner's administration up to and until the close of the war. In this work he essays the happier task of tracing the measures taken to restore the country to the condition of prosperity it enjoyed before this pro-consul descended upon it with a policy of sword and fire. Although the Conservative débacle in England